

Message Text

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42

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4282

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 1059

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS, 12/31/82

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: ATLANTIC RELATIONS: NATO DECLARATION

TEXT FOLLOWS OF NEWEST DRAFT OF ATLANTIC DECLARATION AS
AGREED TO BY US AND FRENCH DELEGATION, EXCEPTED AS BRACKETED,
FOR CONSIDERATION FIRST BY THOUGHT GROUP (SEE SEPTEL) AND THEN
BY NAC.

BEGIN TEXT:

1. THE FIFTEEN NATIONS OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE --
BELGIUM, CANADA, DENMARK, FRANCE, THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY,
GREECE, ICELAND, ITALY, LUXEMBOURG, THE NETHERLANDS, NORWAY,
PORTUGAL, TURKEY, THE UNITED KINGDOM, AND THE UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA -- DECLARE THAT THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY, SIGNED 25 YEARS
AGO, TO WHICH THEY ADHERE IN ORDER TO PRESERVE THEIR FREEDOMS AND
THEIR INDEPENDENCE, ATTESTS TO THE SOLIDARITY AND COMMON DESTINY
OF THE COUNTRIES OF EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA AND THEIR PEOPLES.
UNDER THE PROTECTION OF THE TREATY, WESTERN EUROPE HAS REBUILT
FROM ITS RUINS AND LAID THE FOUNDATIONS OF ITS UNITY, ALL OF THE
ALLIES HAVE ATTAINED AN UNPRECEDENTED LEVEL OF PROSPERITY, AND
THE PRECEPTS OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION HAVE BEEN PRESERVED.

2. IN RECENT YEARS, GREAT PROGRESS HAS BEEN ACHIEVED ON THE
ROAD TOWARDS DETENTE AND HARMONY AMONG NATIONS, TO A POINT WHERE
AT A CONFERENCE INVOLVING 35 COUNTRIES OF EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA
IT IS NOT PORPOSED TO LAY DOWN GUIDELINES DESIGNED TO INCREASE
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SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE. THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE
WELCOME THIS; BUT UNTIL CIRCUMSTANCES PERMIT THE INTRODUCTION
OF GENERAL, COMPLETE AND CONTROLLED DISARMAMENT, WHICH ALONE COULD
PROVIDE GENUINE SECURITY FOR ALL, THE TIES UNITING THEM MUST BE

MAINTAINED. STATES THAT WISH TO PRESERVE PEACE HAVE NEVER ACHIEVED THIS AIM BY NEGLECTING THE DEMANDS OF THEIR OWN SECURITY.

3. THEM MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE REAFFIRM THAT THEIR COMMON DEFENSE IS ONE AND INDIVISIBLE. /THE COMMON AIM IS TO PREVENT THE OUTBREAK F A CONFLICT IN WHICH THE STAKE, THROUGH THE DESTRUCTION OF ANY MEMBER-NATION'S INDEPENDENCE, WOULD BE THE DOMINATION OF THE WORLD./ AT THE SAME TIME, THEY REALIZE THAT WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION TO A POINT OF NEAR EQUILIBRIUM, /WHILE EUROPE REMAINED VULNERABLE TO ALL FORMS OF CONFLICT,/ THE CIRCUMSTANCES AFFECTING THEIR COMMON DEFENSE HAVE BEEN CONSIDERABLY MODIFIED IN THE LAST TEN YEARS. CONSEQUENTLY THE ALLIANCE'S PROBLEMS IN THE DEFENSE OF EUROPE HAVE ASSUMED A DIFFERENT AND MORE SPECIFIC CHARACTER.

4. THIS NEW SITUATION IN NO WAY ALTERS THE ESSENTIAL FACTS:

-- THE ALLIES, /THROUGH THE TREATY, HAVE PLEDGED THAT AN ATTACK AGAINST ONE OR MORE OF THEM IN EUROPE OR NORTH AMERICA SHALL BE CONSIDERED AN ATTACK AGAINST THEM ALL./

OR:

-- THE ALLIES, /BY FREELY CHOOSING TO MAINTAIN THE PRINCIPLE THAT AN ATTACK ON ONE OR MORE OF THEM IN EUROPE OR NORTH AMERICA SHALL BE CONSIDERED AN ATTACK AGAINST THEM ALL, AND BY SHARING AS PARTNERS IN THE DEFENSE OF THE ENTIRE TREATY AREA, ENHANCE THE DETERRENT AND THEREBY DIMINISH THE DANGER OF ATTACK TO WHICH ANY INDIVIDUAL MEMBER-NATION WOULD OTHERWISE BE EXPOSED./

-- THERE IS NO /PRESENT/ ALTERNATIVE /FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE/ TO THE SECURITY PROVIDED FOR THE ENTIRE ALLIANCE BY UNITED STATES NUCLEAR FORCES BASED IN THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE, AND BY THE PRESENCE OF NORTH AMERICAN FORCES IN EUROPE.

5. NEVERTHELESS, THE ALLIANCE MUST NOW PAY MORE CAREFUL ATTENTION TO THE DANGERS TO WHICH T IS EXPOSED IN THE EUROPEAN
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REGION, AND MUST ADOPT ALL MEASURES NECESSARY TO AVERT THEM. /THE COMMON AIM BEING TO MAINTAIN THE CAPACITY TO PREVENT AN ATTACK ON THE ALLIANCE AS A WHOLE OR ON ANY OF ITS MEMBER-NATIONS, THE STAKE OF WHICH WOULD BE, THROUGH THE DESTRUCTION OF EUROPE'S OR OF ANY MEMBER-NATION'S INDEPENDENCE, THE DOMINATION OF THE WORLD./ THE RUEOPEAN MEMBERS, WHO PROVIDE THREE-QUARTERS OF THE CONVENTIONAL STRENGTH OF THE ALLIANCE IN EUROPE, AND TWO OF WHOM POSSESS NUCLEAR FORCES CAPABLE OF PLAYING A DETERRENT ROLE OF THEIR OWN, UNDERTAKE TO MAKE THE NECESSARY CONTRIBUTION TO MAINTAIN THE COMMON DEFENSE AT A LEVEL CAPABLE OF DETERRING ALL ACTIONS DIRECTED AGAINST THEIR INDEPENDENCE OR TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND OF REPELLING ALL AGGRESSION,

SHOULD DETERRENCE FAIL. THE UNITED STATES, FOR ITS PART, DECLARES

THAT IT WILL NOT ACCEPT ANY SITUATION WHICH WOULD EXPOSE EUROPE TO EXTERNAL POLITICAL OR MILITARY PRESSURE LIKELY TO DEPRIVE IT OF ITS FREEDOM. THE UNITED STATES REAFFIRMS THAT IT WILL MAINTAIN ITS FORCES IN EUROPE AT THE LEVEL REQUIRED TO SUSTAIN THE CREDIBILITY OF THE STRATEGY OF DETERRENCE AND TO MAINTAIN THE CAPACITY TO DEFEND THE NORTH ATLANTIC AREA SHOULD DETERRENCE FAIL /AND THAT THE AIM OF ITS AGREEMENT OF 22ND JUNE, 1973, WITH THE SOVIET UNION IS TO PREVENT WAR IN ALL ITS FORMS, NOT TO LAY DOWN RULES AND LIMITS UNDER WHICH WAR WOULD BE WAGED/.

6. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE MEMBER-NATIONS OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AFFIRM THAT AS THE ULTIMATE AIM OF ANY DEFENSE POLICY IS TO DENY A POTENTIAL ADVERSARY THE OBJECTIVES HE SEEKS TO ACHIEVE BY STARTING A CONFLICT, ALL THEIR FORCES WOULD, IF NECESSARY, BE USED FOR THIS PURPOSE. /THEY ARE CONVINCED THAT THEIR WILLINGNESS TO DEFEND THEMSELVES WITH ALL WEAPONS AT THEIR DISPOSAL CONTINUES TO BE THE BEST ASSURANCE THAT NO WAR OF ANY KIND WILL BE LAUNCHED AGAINST THE ALLIANCE. NONETHELESS, THE ALLIES REAFFIRM THAT A MAJOR AIM OF THEIR POLICIES IS TO SEEK AGREEMENTS THAT WILL REDUCE THE RISK OF WAR./

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7. #

8. WITH THIS IN VIEW, IT IS RECOGNIZED THAT THE CONTINUED PRESENCE OF CANADIAN AND SUBSTANTIAL UNITED STATE FORCES IN EUROPE PLAYS AN IRREPLACEABLE ROLE IN THE DEFENSE OF NORTH AMERICA, AS WELL AS OF EUROPE; SIMILARLY, THE SUBSTANTIAL FORCES OF THE EUROPEAN ALLIES SERVE TO DEFEND EUROPE, AND NORTH AMERICA AS WELL. IT IS ALSO RECOGNIZED THAT THE PROGRESS OF THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY TOWARDS POLITICAL UNION SHOULD HAVE, IN DUE COURSE, BENEFICIAL EFFECTS ON THE CONTRIBUTION OF THOSE OF ITS MEMBER-NATIONS WHICH ARE ALSO MEMBERS OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE.

9. THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE CONSIDER THAT THE WILL TO COMBINE THEIR EFFORTS TO ENSURE THEIR COMMON DEFENSE OBLIGES THEM TO NEGLECT NOTHING WHICH MIGHT IMPROVE THE EFFICIENCY OF THEIR FORCES, AND THAT EACH SHOULD UNDERTAKE, ACCORDING TO ITS

PLACE IN THE ALLIANCE, ITS PROPER SHARE OF THE BURDEN OF MAINTAINING THE SECURITY OF ALL. CONVERSLY, THEY TAKE THE VIEW THAT, IN THE COURSE OF CURRENT OR FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS, NOTHING MUST BE ACCEPTED WHICH COULD DIMINISH THIS SECURITY.

10. /THE NATIONS OF THE ALLIANCE ARE MORE CONVINCED THAN EVER THAT THEIR HIGHEST AIMS WILL BE ACHIEVED ONLY IF THEY COOPERATE AND CONSULT, IN A SPIRIT OF MUTUAL TRUST, ESPECIALLY WHEN THEY ARE NOT FULLY IN ACCORD, ON ALL PROBLEMS OF COMMON INTEREST, AS BEFITS ALLIES WHO SHARE A COMMON DESTINY AND WHO UNDERSTAND WELL THAT EACH BENEFITS FROM THE STRENGTH -- POLITICAL, MILITARY AND ECONOMIC -- OF THE OTHERS. SINCE DETENTE AND DEFENSE
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ARE COMPLEMENTARY, THEY WILL IN PARTICULAR KEEP EACH OTHER INFORMED OF DEVELOPMENTS AND PROGRESS IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS. RECOGNIZING THAT THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD IS CONFRONTED WITH SEVERE NEW CHALLENGES TO THE WELL-BEING OF ALL PEOPLES, THEY WILL SEEK TO ADD FRESH DIMENSIONS TO THEIR COOPERATION. FURTHERMORE, WHILE ABIDING BY THEIR INDIVIDUAL OBLIGATIONS AND ANY COMMITMENTS THEY HAVE JOINTLY UNDERTAKEN, THEY WILL SEEK TO REMOVE SOURCES OF CONFLICT AND TO ENCOURAGE ECONOMIC COLLABORATION AMONG THEMSELVES./

OR:

/THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE ARE CONVINCED, NOW AS BEFORE, THAT THEIR AIMS WILL BE ACHIEVED ONLY BY THE MAINTENANCE OF CLOSE CONSULTATION AND COOPERATION IN MUTUAL TRUST ON ALL THEIR COMMON PROBLEMS. SINCE DETENTE AND DEFENSE ARE COMPLEMENTARY, THEY WILL IN PARTICULAR KEEP EAC OTHER INFORMED OF DEVELOPMENTS AND PROGRESS IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS. FURTHERMORE, WHILE ABIDING BY THEIR INDIVIDUAL OBLIGATIONS AND ANY COMMITMENTS THEY HAVE JOINTLY UNDERTAKEN, THEY WILL CONTINUE TO REMOVE SOURCES OF CONFLICT BETWEEN THEIR RESPECTIVE ECONOMIC POLICIES, AND TO ENCOURAGE ECONOMIC COLLABORATION WITH ONE ANOTHER./

11. THEY RECALL THAT THEIR SOLIDARITY IS BASED ON A COMMON DEDICATION TO THE PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY, RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, JUSTICE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS, WHICH ARE THE FRUITS OF THEIR SHARED SPIRITUAL HERITAGE AND WHICH THEY ARE RESOLVED TO UPHOLD. SINCE THESE PRINCIPLES, BY THEIR VERY NATURE, FORBID ANY RECOURSE TO METHODS INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE PROMOTION OF WORLD PEACE, THEY REAFFIRM THAT THE EFFORTS WHICH THEY MAKE TO PRESERVE THEIR INDEPENDENCE, TO MAINTAIN THEIR SECURITY AND TO IMPROVE THE IVING STANDARDS OF THEIR PEOPLES EXCLUDE ALL FORMS OF AGREEEION AGAINST ANYONE, ARE NOT DIRECTED AGAINST ANY OTHER COUNTRY, AND ARE DESIGNED TO BRING ABOUT THE GENERAL IMPROVEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

IN EUROPE, THEIR OBJECTIVE CONTINUES TO BE THE PURSUIT OF UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION WITH EVERY EUROPEAN COUNTRY. IN THE WORLD AT LARGE, THEY RECOGNIZE THAT EACH OF THEM HAS SPECIAL

OBLIGATIONS TOWARDS THOSE WHO HAVE NOT YET BENEFITED FROM ALL THE
ADVANTAGES OF ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL PROGRESS.

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12. NOW, ON THE OCCASION OF THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE
SIGNING OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY, THE MEMBER-NATIONS LOOK
TO THE FUTURE AND / , CONFIDENT THAT THE VITALITY AND ASPIRATIONS
OF THEIR PEOPLES ARE COMMENSURATE TO THE TASK, / DECLARE THEIR
CONVICTION THAT THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE /CONTINUES TO SERVE AS AN
ESSENTIAL ELEMENT IN THE STRUCTURE OF THE LASTING PEACE THEY
ARE DETERMINED TO BUILD FOR THEIR OWN AND FUTURE GENERATIONS/
/IS AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT IN THE STRUCTURE OF THE PEACE THEY ARE
DETERMINED TO MAINTAIN/.

END TEXT. RUMSFELD

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